Tells the Facts and Names the Names

CounterPunch

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Packwoods of N. Carolina

Jesse & Lauch: Snouts in the Swill Bucket

The Packwood affair has come to an exhilarating close and the departing chairman of the Senate Finance Committee has left a priceless bequest in the form of his diaries, which explain in homely detail how a U.S. senator makes his way in the world.

The sexual escapades described in the Packwood diaries exhibit much Oregonian self-righteousness. Packwood tells one of the female staffers he's been sleeping with that "I was doing my Christian duty by making love to you". He feared she didn't have time for sex outside of the office because she was lonely, amid her lengthy labors for him.

Packwood's diaries show the intimate connection between money furnished by corporate lobbyists and the legislative stances adopted by members of Congress. "We should have them [the NRA] sewn up", Packwood wrote in his diary after his 1992 vote against gun control. Two days later, an NRA lobbyist showed him a draft letter that the organization was going to send out supporting Packwood and denouncing Rep. Les AuCoin, his opponent in the November election, who as a House member had voted for the Brady Bill. "God, is it tough," Packwood rejoiced.

At another point, Packwood writes of his attempts to secure job offers for his wife, Georgie, whom he was in the process of divorcing. He hoped to reduce alimony payments by upping her outside income, and admitted, "I'm skating on thin ice here". Packwood wanted railcar company owner William Furman to put up money for Georgie. He thought this highly likely since Furman "is eternally appreciative to me" for inserting a $5 million tax break in the 1986 Tax Reform Act which benefited Furman's Greenbriar Companies.

Packwood raised vast sums of money from the finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) sector, on whose behalf he did most of his legislative whoring. However, William Roth, the Delaware Republican who most likely will succeed Packwood as Finance Committee Chairman, actually raised more money from FIRE PACs than did the departing Oregonian. Between 1989 and 1994, Roth raked in $348,045, versus a comparatively meager $260,771 take by Packwood.

As he leaves the senate and heads towards a second career as a lobbyist, Packwood may legitimately feel that the Ethics Committee had scant reason to single him out from his colleagues, except perhaps on the minor business of cleaning up his diaries. Many senators are as sexually predatory as Packwood, and all of them depend on the corporate dollar.

Take Senators Jesse Helms and Lauch Faircloth from North Carolina, as fragrant a duo as can be found in Congress.

Helms, the head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently introduced the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995, which is currently being debated by Congress.

A key section of the bill — and one which has no basis in international law — would allow Cubans who fled after Fidel Castro took power in 1959 and **later** became U.S. citizens, to advance claims in U.S. courts on property nationalized by the Cuban government. They could even sue foreign nationals and companies which have indirectly benefited from the use of their former property.

Enriched by this legislation would be the looters who most successfully plundered Cuba under the Batista dictator-

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ship which Castro overthrew: Florida-based sugar barons, cattle ranchers and distillers. This is no coincidence. Among those drafting the Helms legislation was Nicolas Gutierrez, who sits on the board of the Miami-headquartered National Association of Sugar Mill Owners of Cuba and whose family had 100,000 acres of land expropriated by Castro, and Ignacio Sanchez, a lawyer for Bacardi Rum Co., which has long been hot to sue Pernod Ricard, a French firm which distills rum in Bacardi's old plant in Santiago de Cuba.

Other infatuates of the bill include Juan Prado, a retired Bacardi executive, whose family lost $76 million (in 1960 dollars) when Castro took power, and Manuel Cutillas, head of both the U.S.-Cuba Business Council and of Bacardi Rum Co. The rum connection prompted Wayne Smith, chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana between 1979 and 1982 and now of Washington's Center for International Policy, to tag the Helms-backed legislation "the Bacardi Claims Act."

Helms's efforts have further endeared him to the fanatical exiles massed in the Cuban-American Foundation, headed by Jorge Mas Canosa. Pleased by the work of the senior senator from North Carolina, Cuban groups in Miami have organized two major fundraisers for Helms, who is up for re-election in 1996, netting him a total of $160,000. Last May, Radio Marti, which is controlled by the Foundation, gave Helms six minutes to deliver his very own "message to the Cuban people".

Bill Clinton, with his habitual eye to the Florida vote, enthusiastically supports the Helms legislation.

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In Sen. Faircloth, part owner of one of the nation's largest hog producers, the pig men of North Carolina have a powerful friend.

What Helms is to rum, North Carolina's Lauch Faircloth is to pigs; the junior senator holds about $19 million in pork farming investments. Today, in North Carolina the hog industry is headed the same way chicken production went thirty years ago, when the vertical integration pioneered by Purdue and others wiped out a million small chicken farmers across the country.

The pig barons of North Carolina saw a significant cost advantage for their "right to work" state. In the traditional hog belt of the midwest, unions and laws against vertical integration and some forms of corporate agriculture still protect the medium farmer. The coastal plain and piedmont of North Carolina are now pocked by vast pig-factories and pig-slaughter houses.

People living here sicken from the virulent stink of 25-foot deep lagoons of pig shit, which have poisoned the water table and decanted nitrogen and phosphorus-laced sludge into the Neuse, the Tar-Pamlico and the Albemarle rivers. Ammonia gas burdens the air, just as it does in northern Europe where at least open lagoons are banned and the septic gunk must be "injected" into cropland rather than sprayed over them, which is habit in the United States.

Such is the swollen empire of pork in North Carolina. Its reeking lagoons surround darkened warehouses of animals, trapped in metal crates barely larger than their bodies, tails chopped off, pumped with corn, soybeans and chemicals until, in six months, they weigh about 240 pounds. They are then shipped off to abattoirs to be killed, sometimes by prisoners on work release from the county jail.

The sows are killed after about two years or whenever their reproductive performance declines. It takes maybe 8 to 10 people to run a sow factory, overseeing 2,000 sows, boars and piglets. A computerized "finishing" farm where the pigs are fattened may require only a part-time caretaker to check the equipment and clean up between arriving and departing freights of creatures.

The noise in these factories is ghastly, and many workers wear ear pads against the squealing and crashing of the caged pigs. The *Raleigh News and Observer* did a fine series on North Carolina's pig barons in early 1995, which followed a pioneering article in *Southern Exposure* in 1992. Readers were told they could call the paper's number in Raleigh, 549-5100, and enter category 4647 to hear a recording of this terrible sound.

To insulate themselves from popular outrage or even regulatory surveillance the pig barons have either bought political protection or gone directly into politics to write or endorse laws favorable to themselves.

Most conspicuous in this art is Wendell Murphy, head of Murphy farms, the biggest pig business in the country, selling $200 million worth of hogs in 1994. Murphy joined the state legislature in 1982 and soon augmented the stream of laws protecting hog and chicken interests with laws protecting his own. In North Carolina, legislators may profit from the bills or amendments they offer so long as they can assert that such profit-probabilities do not cloud their judgement. Presumably unclouded, Murphy pushed through or supported laws exempting his business from sales taxes, inspection fees, property taxes on feed, zoning laws, and pollution fines.

In 1993, after Murphy left the assembly, one of his executives stayed behind as a legislator to press successfully for a

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bill that blocked environmental researchers from getting state agriculture department records on hog farm sites and sizes. In 1991, when Murphy was still installed as tribune for the pig business, the North Carolina legislature brazenly passed Senate Bill 669 allowing the North Carolina Pork Producers Association to collect a hog levy which could be used to lobby state legislators and fight lawsuits as well as for other purposes which federal check-off money can't be used for.

The pig men of North Carolina have a friend even higher up the political chain in the form of Senator Faircloth, who is part owner of Coharie Farms, the 30th largest hog producer in the country. In Congress he is now ensconced as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Clean Water, Wetlands, Private Property and Nuclear Safety.

When challenged that his hog interests conflicted with his new post, Faircloth asked for an Ethics Committee ruling, and that wise body, taking into account that hog factories are poisoning North Carolina's waters, and that hog barons try to exempt their private property from all regulation, ruled that Faircloth had NO conflict of interest. Small wonder Packwood feels aggrieved at being singled out.

At least Faircloth cannot be charged with hypocrisy. In 1993, shortly after his election to the senate, he celebrated his arrival by inviting lobbyists to attend his swearing-in party at the Hyatt Regency Hotel — at $1,000 per head.

More recently, Faircloth co-sponsored an amendment which will steer a new highway through Greensboro, N.C., instead of through Winston-Salem, as originally planned. Faircloth owns hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stock in the Greensboro-based Jefferson-Pilot Corporation, which owns a big tract of undeveloped land near the route of the new highway. A shopping mall will spring up there if Faircloth's amendment is approved.

In 1992, Jefferson-Pilot and its executives contributed $16,600 to Faircloth's senate campaign. A Faircloth aide, Harris Vaughn, told D.C.-based *Roll Call* that any link between Faircloth's investment in Jefferson-Pilot and his diversion of the highway route was "absolutely" coincidental. ■

Punch Bowl

The *Oregonian* newspaper published a special section on Bob Packwood's fall from grace the day after his resignation. The impression given was that its digging played a major role in the senator's downfall. The newspaper must have reckoned that most of its readers had forgotten *The Oregonian*'s servile role down the years in covering up for Packwood.

In 1991, well before Packwood's tight re-election campaign against Rep. Les AuCoin the following year, an *Oregonian* reporter, Roberta Ulrich, held an interview with Packwood. After plying her with wine, the Oregon Senator lurched across the table, fondled her and kissed her on the lips. Ulrich told her editors, but the newspaper chose not to report the story.

The Oregonian must have reckoned that most of its readers had forgotten its servile role down the years covering up for Packwood.

This decision came despite the fact that just a few weeks before the Ulrich incident, Julie Williamson, a former Packwood aide, told *Oregonian* columnist Steve Duin that the senator had tried to rip off her clothes in the late 1960s. Duin did write a story about that attack, but Packwood was described simply as a "Northwest politician."

The following year *The Oregonian* endorsed Packwood in his senate race. The Packwood scandal was broken by *The Washington Post* — a few weeks after Packwood had won re-election.

Roots, Nineties-Style

CONGRESS PASSED A lobbying "reform" bill last summer, but Republicans succeeded in suspending disclosure requirements for "grassroots" lobbyists — who push legislation but don't personally meet with lawmakers — on the grounds that such restrictions would be a violation of free speech. Today almost all "grassroots" lobbying is done by business, with practitioners employing phone banks, letter-writing campaigns and other activist tools on behalf of their corporate clients. Some $790 million was spent on grassroots lobbying during the past two years, a jump of 70 percent.

In its second quarter of 1995 issue, *PR Watch* printed a report on a gathering of corporate "grassroots specialists" at a 1994 conference, "Shaping Public Opinion: If You Don't Do It, Somebody Else Will". PR executive Pamela Whitney said that her outfit could parachute into a community and within two weeks "have an organization set up and ready to go".

The key to success, said Whitney, is looking local. To that end, she hires local "ambassadors" — a woman who had been the head of the PTA was an ideal candidate. "It's important not to look like a Washington lobbyist. When I go to a zoning board meeting I wear absolutely no make-up, I comb my hair straight back in a ponytail, and I wear my kids' old clothes." A special added touch was the donning of a baseball cap.

Speaking to the same conference was John Davies of Davies Communications. His firm's literature claims that it "can make a strategically planned program look like a spontaneous explosion of community support".

Davies's firm is especially crafty in the letter writing business. He explained how his telemarketers produce "personal" letters from real folks: "We want to assist them with letter writing. We get them on the phone, and while we're on the phone we say, 'Will you write a letter?' 'Sure.' 'Do you have the time to write it?' 'Not really.' 'Could we write the letter for you? I could put you on the phone right now with someone who could help you write a letter. Just hold, we have a writer standing by.' [After another Davies employee takes down the letter] we hand-write it out on 'little kitty cat stationery' if it's an old lady. If it's a business we take it over to be photocopied on someone's letterhead. [We] use different stamps, different envelopes ... Getting a pile of personalized letters that have a different look to them is what you want to strive for."

(Punch Bowl, continued on p. 5)

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Kissinger and Kent State

The CD-ROM version of *The Haldeman Diaries* — much longer than the book — contains revelations about Henry Kissinger's conduct while serving in the Nixon administration. Take the Kent State massacre of four students by National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970, days after the invasion of Cambodia.

Nixon himself is said to have almost suffered a nervous breakdown after the Kent State killings. He later wrote that the hours after the deaths were "among the darkest of my presidency". It was just a few days after Kent State that Nixon, accompanied by his valet, went to the Lincoln Memorial at 4:30 in the morning and sought to engage anti-war protestors in a discussion of college football.

Kissinger has claimed that he too was deeply upset by the events at Kent State, and by the anti-war movement in general. In his memoirs, he writes that "he had a special feeling [for students] ... [They] had been brought up by skeptics, relativists and psychiatrists; now they were rudderless in a world from which they demanded certainty without sacrifice. My generation had failed them by encouraging self-indulgence and neglecting to provide roots."

Kissinger held a series of meetings with student groups in the days after Kent State. According to an account in Seymour Hersh's *The Price of Power*, a former colleague of Kissinger's from Harvard, an academic dean, sat in on one of the meetings: "By the time Henry had finished with the students — he briefed them in the Situation Room — they were eating out of his hand. I was equally taken; I really saw it as the beginning of a dialogue that Henry was going to have with American students. He told them, 'Give me six months. If you only knew what I'm staving off from the right' — a broad hint that he did not fully agree with the plans of Nixon. He sent away a very docile group of young people." (This line, that he was fighting off the right, was one Kissinger deftly used on eternally gullible liberal intelligentsia.)

But in private, while Nixon and virtually everyone else in his administration favored negotiations with the students — if only because they were frightened by the growing anger over the war in southeast Asia — Kissinger alone was urging a crackdown. Here is part of the May 6, 1970 entry in Haldeman's diary (P=President, K=Kissinger, E=Ehrlichman):

"[Nixon] agreed to plan of action: meet with university presidents tomorrow; press conference Friday night; call in all Governors Monday. Wants to hold off on appointing special commission about Kent State. Feels it may be a mistake so wait a little. Very aware of point that goal of the Left is to panic us, so we must not fall into their trap ... P realizes he's up against a real tough one. K wants to just let the students go for couple of weeks, then move in and clobber them. E wants to communicate, especially symbolically. All agreed to the plan, but K very concerned that we not appear to give in any way. Thinks P can really clobber them if we just wait for Cambodian success."

Footnote: The photographs on this page of Henry Kissinger, seen pondering affairs at a trade conference in Brazil, originally appeared on the front-page of *Jornal do Brasil*, a major Rio de Janeiro daily, on November 13, 1992. They were taken by Adriana Lorete.

The discreet caption to the photos read:

"Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1973, the ex-all-powerful Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, said yesterday that Brazil will be able to enter the NAFTA agreement only in two to three years. At the invitation of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, he participated yesterday in a meeting on Latin America and the New World Order, at the Sheraton Hotel."

We have learned that Kissinger has been threatening to sue *Jornal do Brasil*. The newspaper received a letter from the former secretary of state's lawyer saying Kissinger would file a lawsuit for damages if *Jornal do Brasil* did not immediately cease and desist from selling the photos. To its credit, *Jornal do Brasil* refused to bow.

To our knowledge, the only previous buyer of the photos was the advertising agency of Woolward & Partners. It bought them to use in an ad for a photo scanner. Woolward & Partners also received a letter from Kissinger's lawyer demanding that it make no further use of the Nobel Peace Prize winner's image.

Here is a man who has been photographed eating lobster with Gen. Augusto Pinochet — another ethically disarranged figure who oversaw the murder of thousands of Chileans after taking power in a coup sponsored by Kissinger's ex-boss, Richard Nixon. Kissinger has mugged for the camera while nibbling duck with China's rulers. Yet it is only these images he seeks to keep under lock and key. ■

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(Punch Bowl, continued from p. 3)

That Dingy Dartmouth Dame

LAST FEBRUARY, James Atlas wrote a cover story for *The New York Times Magazine*, "The Counter Counterculture", which devoted considerable space to young conservatives like David Brock, Richard Brookheiser and Adam Bellow. Today's Beltway conservatives listen to 10,000 Maniacs and Smashing Pumpkins, and advertise themselves as "hip" to popular culture.

Also featured in Atlas's story was Laura Ingraham, a former editor of the *Dartmouth Review*. Like many of her colleagues at the *Review*, Ingraham's session at the newspaper was designed to catch the eye of right-wing patrons and win her a good job in Washington.

After working as an aide to the Reagan administration's Education Department, she served as Clarence Thomas's law clerk.

Ingraham now works at the Washington law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom. She also is a leading member of the Independent Women's Forum (IWF), a conservative group popular with the media whose members include Wendy Lee Gramm, Senator Phil Gramm's wife.

One of the IWF's top priorities is fighting affirmative action. As part of its campaign, Ingraham wrote a *New York Times* op-ed piece which argued that women no longer faced a "glass ceiling", and that "the idea that women are constantly thwarted by invisible barriers of sexism relegates them to permanent victim status".

Ingraham was featured on the cover of the *Times*'s magazine piece, wearing a leopard-skin miniskirt. Though not part of her customary attire, the *Times* implored her to wear the miniskirt in the interest of a story hyping the wild and crazy young right-wing.

Over drinks at Washington's Tabard Inn, Ingraham told Atlas about a trip she made in the mid-Eighties to El Salvador. Asked how she spent her time, Ingraham, with "a dry laugh", replied, "Subjugating third world nations". A Dartmouth professor who read the article recalled that the *Review* berated university teachers who traveled to El Salvador during the Eighties, and suggested that they stay at the "Five Dead Nun Inn". Ho, ho.

James Atlas didn't mention a cruel trick pulled by the *Review* during Ingraham's years as editor, one of the most reprehensible in its history – and bear in mind that this is a newspaper which found it amusing to hold a lobster and champagne lunch on the same day that students had scheduled a series of events to combat hunger.

In May of 1984, a *Review* writer, Teresa Polenz, infiltrated a meeting of the newly founded Gay Students' Association (GSA). Polenz, masquerading as a gay student who was questioning her own sexual preferences, secretly taped the meeting. Ingraham and her colleagues published transcripts in the *Review* and sent them to the parents of GSA members.

A U.S. Naval research lab is trying to meld neurons and computer chips in studies that may produce an army of "zombies"

Accompanying the issue with this story was a "Letter from the Editor" from Ingraham, who called GSA members "cheerleaders for latent campus sodomites" who were "helping frightened gays shed heterosexual peer pressure and act in accordance with their urges". Ingraham also attacked Dartmouth administrators, saying that in supporting the GSA the university was guilty of "jumping on the pink bandwagon".

Kelly and the Zombies

IN THE LATE SPRING, Michael Kelly had a silly piece in *The New Yorker* in which he derided the far left and the far right for peddling paranoid fantasies about political power in the U.S. Kelly, whose point seemed to be that there's no difference between the KKK and Ralph Nader, claimed that both left and right were guilty of creating an Us/Them mentality.

"The Us are the American people and the Them are the people who control the people – an elite comprising the forces of the state, the money-political-legal class, and the producers of news and entertainment in the mass media. From this fundamental assumption, fusion paranoia builds to an array of related beliefs: that the government elite tells lies as a matter of course; that it is controlled by people acting in concert against the common good and at the bidding of powerful interests working behind the scenes; and that it routinely commits acts of appalling treachery."

Yes, you'd have to be completely paranoid to believe anything like that. Kelly's the sort of journalist who'd still be denying that the U.S. military used human guinea pigs in radiation testing if it weren't for the fact that Hazel O'Leary called a press conference to announce it.

We have another story for Kelly to raise his eyebrows at. A U.S. Naval research lab is attempting to meld neurons and computer chips in studies that may produce an army of "zombies".

No, this isn't a story from the *National Inquirer*. It's a headline, almost verbatim, from a report earlier this year in *Defense News*, which was sent to us by a **CounterPunch** subscriber. The article said that "battles of the future could be waged with genetically engineered organisms, such as rodents, whose minds are controlled by computer chips engineered with living brain cells" (as opposed to the other bio-genetic trend, human soldiers fitted with pigs' organs).

Research on this promising development is underway at the Naval Research

Buchanan/Kaptur '96

Exhibiting sound judgment on the impatience of the voters with the sanctioned political spectrum, Pat Buchanan, running for the Republican presidential nomination, approached Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), one of the most liberal members of Congress, about becoming his vice presidential candidate. The offer was looked upon favorably by Ross Perot's United We Stand movement, from which Buchanan could receive a fair amount of support.

Kaptur and Buchanan both were leading critics of the NAFTA agreement, and generally espouse an economic populism which is not terribly popular on the op-ed pages and in opinion forming circles. But Kaptur – pro-choice, pro-gay rights and generally liberal on social issues – never seriously considered the offer. ■

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Hollywood Zapatistas

Reports from Mexico say there are at least three Hollywood projects in the works inspired by the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas. According to *Processo*, a Mexican news weekly, Subcomandante Marcos has already read and approved two of the scripts.

Oliver Stone, whose film "Nixon" will open later this year, is one of the directors considering a movie on the Zapatistas. As reported in *El Financiero*, Mexico's leading independent daily, Hollywood scriptwriter John Leone is drafting a script for Stone.

The story is said to revolve around a dissident American intelligence agent who enters Mexico – under journalistic cover – one day after the Chiapas revolt. Our enterprising hero interviews Marcos and, after entering a prohibited zone, discovers that the CIA is assisting the Mexican government in its effort to crush the Zapatistas. *El Financiero* compared the script to a Tom Clancy novel.

A few years ago, Stone was interviewed on Brazilian television by Bruna Lombardi, a model and actress who had an hour-long interview show on the Manchete network. The formal interview concluded and Lombardi began chatting with Stone. The director, unaware that the cameras were still rolling, exclaimed, "That was an exhausting interview. I hope you're not that exhausting in bed". ■

Laboratory (NRL) in Washington. The military claims that the purpose of its research is entirely benign, the creation of an electronic "canary" – the bird once used by coal miners to warn of toxic gases – which would serve as an early warning of the presence on the battlefield of biological and chemical poisons.

However, William Tolles, who retired earlier this year as associate director of research at the NRL, told a conference sponsored by the American Defense Preparedness Association that "once this technology is proved, you could control a living species." Lawrence Korb, who is now at Brookings Institution and previously was a Defense Department official during the Reagan years, was quoted as saying that the new technology "could potentially be used on people to create zombie armies".

Other bizarre military research continues apace. Human Rights Watch recently reported that the U.S. is seeking to develop at least ten "tactical laser weapons that have the potential of blinding individuals ... The function of all these weapons, as described by the military, is to counter battlefield surveillance by disrupting optical and electro-optical devices – from binoculars to gunners' sights to infrared sensors. But it appears that all can also function as blinding antipersonnel weapons."

A prototype of one such weapon – the Saber 203, developed by the Air Force's Phillips Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico – was deployed to Somalia by the Marine Corps in early 1995. Its experimental use was stopped, says Human Rights Watch, "at the eleventh hour" for what the military called "humane reasons".

Appropriate Behavior: Scratch My Back

IN SEEKING TO UNDERSTAND how Washington works, it's crucial to have an understanding of the appropriations process. Every year, Congress passes thirteen appropriations bills, which set funding for federal agencies.

Because the bills must be passed or the government shuts down (a temporary possibility this year), big contributors see the appropriations bills as exceptional targets of opportunity. By bribing members of Congress to quietly attach riders or amendments to such bills, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, "what could take months – or even years – of hearings, debate and negotiations can be accomplished in hours" with a carefully worded addition.

The Center has compiled a long list of riders and amendments approved by the House this year. The appropriations bills still must be debated by the Senate, but at least some of the egregious measures discussed below will almost surely get through.

Republicans attached seventeen riders to various appropriations bills, largely the Interior Department and the VA-HUD bills, which prevent the Environmental Protection Agency from enforcing laws on everything from clean water to clean air to pesticides. Mining companies, which contributed more than $1 million to congressional candidates in 1993-94, induced their congressional allies to insert a rider stopping the EPA from adding new plants or animals to the endangered species list. Pesticide firms, which gave $2.5 million to congressional candidates during the past few years, won themselves a rider which prevents the EPA from spending money to enforce the Delaney Clause, which prohibits cancer-causing additives in processed foods.

The best Congress money can buy also helped business groups by inserting riders or amendments which hacked away at workers rights. Riders to the Labor/Health and Human Services appropriations bill prevent the expenditure of funds to prohibit federal contracts with businesses that hire striker replacements and another which denies funding for the development of OSHA's ergonomics rule, intended to protect workers from repetitive stress injuries.

Leading the fight for the latter was (employee-owned) United Parcel Service, which only in July – when Congress was debating the Labor/HHS bill – unbuckled $70,315 to House members. UPS this year has also held 55 "meet and greet" sessions at its townhouse in Washington, D.C. with members of Congress. The company's PAC spends about $450 for food and drink for the affairs, and also gives the attending lawmaker a direct campaign contribution of $4,550, this coming in just at the $5,000 legal limit. Of 17 lawmakers on the House appropriations subcommittee who attended a "meet and greet," 16 voted with UPS high brass and against the workers on the ergonomics rider.

It's sometimes possible to trace an amendment or rider directly to the member of Congress who inserted it. Rep. Tom Delay, House Republican whip, put a rider into the Interior bill which says that "none of the funds ... [appropriated] may be used ... to impede or delay the issuance of a wetlands permit ... to the City of Lake Jackson, Texas, for the development of a public golf course west of Buffalo Camp Bayou between the Brazos River and Highway 332." This would allow Lake Jackson officials to build a golf course on land including 200 acres of wetlands crucial to migratory songbirds.

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Riordan Roett Redux

WHEN LAST WE LEFT Riordan Roett, author of the Chase Bank memorandum urging the Mexican government to "eliminate" the Zapatistas in order to restore the confidence of Wall Street investors, he had become the martyred darling of the financial press. Several economics publications have argued that in firing Roett, Chase violated his right to free speech: the right, that is, to advocate that the Mexican army kill peasants in Chiapas.

Now, Roett has received a fresh measure of support from a more important quarter. Roett's old friend President Ernesto Zedillo, whom he has known for more than a decade, made him one of a dozen foreign guests (excluding diplomatic personnel) specially invited to attend his State of the Union speech in early September. Roett took advantage of his time in Mexicoto meet with officials from the public and private sector, the better to help him gather ripe wisdom for the two mutual funds he advises on how best to plunder Mexico on behalf of their shareholders.

Others attending the speech at Zedillo's invitation were Dalal Baer, a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and advisor to the Bear, Stearns investment house; Susan Kaufman Purcell of David Rockefeller's Society of the Americas; and Jack Sweeney of the Heritage Foundation.

In his speech, Zedillo said that the austerity measures he introduced at the behest of Wall Street were beginning to show positive results.

This came as news to most Mexicans. *The Washington Post* reported on Sept. 7 that social conditions — especially crime — have worsened since the peso collapsed last December. In Mexico City, there has been a 100 percent increase in violent car thefts, a 30 percent increase in consumption and sales of narcotics, a 16 percent rise in gang-related crime. Forty percent of crimes have been committed by first time offenders.

The crime wave is likely to get worse. As the *Post* said, "Zedillo's options for combating social problems are limited ... because of tight restrictions placed on public spending by the International Monetary Fund and U.S. government, which have extended $36 billion in emergency credits to Mexico." ■

Gingrich: The Tom Hayden of Tulane

Newt Gingrich's hypocrisy when it comes to his promotion of "family values" has been covered in past issues of **CounterPunch**. Now it has come to our attention that in his college days at Tulane in the Sixties, Newt lived and espoused a McGovern-like philosophy which starkly contrasts with his current ideological posture. **Tim Wise** of New Orleans, a graduate of Gingrich's alma mater of Tulane, sent us this report:

Hardly anyone has asked what Newt Gingrich was doing in the Age of Aquarius, other than avoiding service in Vietnam by way of a student deferment, and composing a fairly tedious dissertation on Belgian educational policy in the Congo.

It turns out that Gingrich was an iconoclastic liberal, albeit a Republican, who served as a go-between for campus radicals at Tulane and that school's administration. Particularly liberal on social issues, Gingrich would regularly complain about how "corrupt and stupid the white, New Orleans, conservative elite were, and how the city was missing the boat culturally and economically, mainly because of the racism of the old-timers", according to Gingrich's long-time friend, David Kramer. Gingrich's own children were enrolled in Head Start at a local pre-school and Newt was a staunch supporter of efforts to bring the poor into the mainstream, particularly blacks.

Gingrich consorted openly with members of Students for a Democratic Society, and led a mass movement in favor of the campus paper's right to publish nude photographs. In this role, Gingrich led a 700-strong march to the home of the University president, protesting censorship by the administration. Tulane's chief was hung in effigy. Other Gingrich-led demonstrations included protests at the New Orleans offices of Merrill Lynch, a local bank, and a department store, all of which had executives who sat on the Tulane Board of Administrators.

According to a fellow grad student, Blake Touchstone, now an associate professor of history at Tulane, Gingrich and two other graduate students "took over the campus protest movement when they saw the undergrads weren't doing such a great job". One of those in Gingrich's inner-circle was Eric Gordon, an SDS activist known around campus as "Eric the Red".

Kramer, now a professor at the Free University in Berlin, told the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, that Gingrich was the "spokesman for student rebellion". His photo fight concerned the right of a campus journal, *Sophia*, to publish photos of nude statues with enlarged genitals, together with photos of the sculptor himself, also in the buff. Many students opposed Newt's stance, and a number fired off vitriolic letters to the editor, slamming the "radicals" for expressing their disagreements through "angry protests".

A group co-founded by Gingrich, Mobilization of Responsible Tulane Stu-

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dents went on to publish a broader campus political platform which advocated, among other things, the abolition of compulsory attendance and student control of all dormitory regulations, including the right to spend the night in opposite-sex dorms. The group soon faded away as a campus force, but students involved in its founding — including Gingrich's friends, Kramer and Bill Rushton — were instrumental in the formation of the Tulane Liberation Front, which led a week-long occupation of the school's student center and called for a "cultural revolution" in America. The Front proposed turning the campus Olympic pool into a public bath, and demanded everything from a revision of campus drug policy to the abolition of ROTC credit courses.

Gingrich's most pronounced "countercultural" tendencies surfaced in the area of his educational philosophies, which he had a chance to put into practice in the spring of 1969. It was then that Gingrich taught a free, non-credit freshman course called "When You Are 49: The Year 2000." Gingrich described his course as one which would probe the likely boundaries of the year 2000 and prepare students "for the world in which they will live", by analyzing and discussing issues of war, peace, racial conflict and the impact of technology on life in America.

Interviewed by the student paper, Gingrich said that his teaching method was based on the concept of "total feedback", that the course would operate without formal notes or lectures, and that exam questions would be given to students two weeks prior to the test, so as to lessen performance pressures and allow better preparation. The problem with universities, said Gingrich, was that they were "bogged down with a lot of useless systems...such as credits and rules, and unrealistic requirements", which he favored eliminating completely. It can easily be imagined what a meal such Gingrich allies as Bill Bennett or the editors of *The Wall Street Journal* would make of this if Gingrich were a Clinton nominee up for confirmation.

Gingrich led a 700-strong march to the home of Tulane's president to protest administration censorship. The university's chief was hung in effigy.

Despite his unorthodox stances, Newt's former colleagues viewed him as something of an opportunist, and not entirely trustworthy. "The first time I met Newt," recalls Touchstone, "was in the fall of 1967. A few of us were sitting around the campus pub having a beer and talking about what we would like to be doing in twenty years. Most of us were saying how we'd like to be teaching, or writing a book or something like that. But when we asked Newt, he didn't miss a beat, and said, just as confident as he could be, that he would be a United States Senator from the state of Georgia. It was a very strange moment." ■

To Our Subscribers:

This double, 8-page issue of **CounterPunch** replaces the usual two September issues. We think the rich tapestry of villainy here unfolding more than compensates for deferring the Labor Day edition. The editors are hard at work on our forthcoming book, *Washington-Babylon.*

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